

The politics of Arabic language education: Moroccan immigrant children's language socialization into ethnic and religious identities

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Abstract

This paper focuses on issues of reproduction and the manufacturing of national/ethnic and religious identities in the deterritorialized space of the Moroccan immigrant diaspora. More specifically, this paper examines Moroccan immigrant children's language socialization into pan-Arabic and Islamic identities in relation to the teaching of the Arabic language to these younger generations of Moroccans, who have either already been born in Spain, or who immigrated to Spain with their parents when they were toddlers. Moroccan immigrant children in this study attend Arabic language classes in a Spanish public school—a relatively new program jointly funded by the Spanish and Moroccan Ministries of Education—and in after-school religious classes in a small oratory-mosque run by a local Islamic cultural organization. In this paper, I address similarities and differences in linguistic and literacy practices between these two contexts, paying particular attention to how the internal dynamism of the Moroccan community itself organizes adults' socializing efforts in relation to language education, especially where there may be some conflicting interests in achieving literacy by religious and secular elements of the children's communities of origin. Comparing language and literacy practices in the fields of Arabic language classes at the school and in the mosque allows us to trace homologies, or similarity of organization in linguistic and cultural (re)production, across these two settings, but also to uncover different kinds of strategies teachers engage in and the differential effect pursued by putting these strategies to use in the classroom. Outlining both, processes of homology and heterogeneity, is particularly important to understand the degree of redundancy in language socialization practices, as well as the possible areas of disjuncture that may impinge upon children's ability to negotiate commonality of belonging in their multiple communities.

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1. Introduction

Over the last three decades, Spain has witnessed the emergence of strong Moroccan immigrant communities (Chacón Rodríguez, 2003; López García & Berriane, 2004). These migratory trends have had a great impact on the demographic, ethnic, religious, and linguistic make-up of Spanish society that are redefining the boundaries of taken-for-granted notions of belonging, citizenship, and identity (Checa, 1998; Martín, García, & López, 2003). Education has emerged as one of the primary spaces in which critical questions about the societal inclusion, socialization, and belonging of Moroccan immigrant children are negotiated (Alegret & Palaudaries, 1995; Carbonell, Simó, & Tort, 2002; Carrasco, 2003; Castaño Madroñal, 1997; Franzé, 1995; García-Sánchez, 2009; Mijares, 2004; Pàmies Rovira, 2006). Given

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that curricula and national education systems have been regarded as major crucibles for the production of citizens (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977), it is perhaps not surprising that the educational arena has become both contentious and contested. In the aftermath of the 2004 bombings in Madrid, the debates about education for Spain's ethnic and religious minorities in relation to identity politics (Taylor, 1994) intensified further, often getting played out against the backdrop of increasing levels of tension regarding immigrants from North Africa and the Muslim world.

Against this general background terrain, this paper is primarily concerned with an aspect of language education and identity politics that has received relatively little attention in the Spanish context, namely issues of reproduction and the manufacturing of national/ethnic and religious identities in the deterritorialized space of the Moroccan immigrant diaspora. More specifically, this paper examines Moroccan immigrant children's language socialization into pan-Arabic and Islamic identities in relation to the teaching of the Arabic language to these younger generations of Moroccans, who have either already been born in Spain, or who immigrated to Spain with their parents when they were toddlers.

Across time and place, immigrant and minority language communities have often shown a strong commitment to maintain the languages of their countries of origin, as both cultural and personal resources, even in the face of strong competition by the hegemonic language(s) of the host countries. The tensions "between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization," in relation to minority politics' fears of cultural absorption by the dominant and larger politics with which they interact (Appadurai, 2002), however, have taken center stage in recent years, given the growing interactive fields of nation-states increasingly characterized by linguistic, cultural, and religious diversity. Often, the anxieties generated by these tensions have translated into hyper-vigilance of younger generations' behaviors by adults, trying to re-enculturate them for fear that these youth would become too "Westernized/Europeanized" (Cesari, 2007; Pêdzwiatr, 2007), too "Americanized" (Lee, 2005), etc., as well as for fears that the loss of community ties would lead these youth too far down the road of social marginalization (Samad, 2007). Although the transmission of cultural and religious knowledge and values to the first generation of children born and educated in minority contexts has become both an issue of key importance in scholarly circles and a issue of considerable concern for Moroccan immigrant parents and community leaders, the crucial role of linguistic and literacy practices in the production of diaspora identities, in the context of Arabic language education, has remained marginal in discussions of these tensions and of the socializing efforts by Moroccan adults.

In addition, often discussions of reproduction have been addressed under the dichotomizing framework of host society and heritage community (e.g. the compatibility and integration of heritage practices with those of the host society, or host society discrimination and rejection of heritage practices). Certainly, this perspective is critical in understanding evolving notions of Western citizenship in relation to minority groups and the politics of representation. Equally central to these discussions, however, is the internal dynamism of Moroccan communities, since, far from being monolithic entities, contemporary immigrant communities are fluid diasporas influenced by strong networks spanning various conventional nation-states. These transnational influences and contacts in the country of origin, in other European countries, and also throughout North Africa and the Middle East has lead to rich and diverse *ideoscapes*¹ (Appadurai, 2002) within the Moroccan immigrant community itself. When studying issues of reproduction in deterritorialized cultural spaces, then, it is essential to consider how these diverse ideoscapes interact, and sometimes clash, in local understandings of the types of knowledge and identities, that are deemed suitable (or 'authentic') for the younger generations to appropriate. Moroccan immigrant children in this study attend Arabic language classes in the Spanish public school—a relatively new program jointly funded by the Spanish and Moroccan Ministries of Education—and in after-school religious classes in a make-shift mosque run by a local Islamic cultural organization. In this paper, I address similarities and differences in linguistic and literacy practices between these two contexts in the manufacturing of national/ethnic and religious identities for the younger generations of Moroccans.

2. Theoretical and research frameworks

Socio-cultural and historical approaches to learning have emphasized the interconnection between the latter and processes of identity development (Lave, 1993). As novices become more active participants within a given community of practice, they also develop specific identities as members of such communities. Practice theory has also underscored

¹ Broadly understood as ideologies of states and counter-ideologies of movements around which nation-states, but also diaspora groups and smaller polities, organize their political cultures.

the role of formal learning contexts as crucial fields for the formation of *habitus*, or the processes by which society is impressed on individuals, including dispositions to use language in a certain way and to evaluate language use according to socio-culturally instilled values (Bourdieu, 1977, 1991). Drawing from this perspective, educational settings, such as the public school and the mosque, have been identified as primary sites for the (re)production of the language ideologies that play a key part in the constitution of the indexical meanings of language (Philips, 2000). My analysis of language practices and literacy activities as related to identity in the contexts of Arabic language education in this immigrant community incorporate these insights through the integrative research framework of language socialization. By focusing on “how children are socialized through the use of language as well as how children are socialized to use language” (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986, p. 184) in specific communities of practice, language socialization provides a dynamic perspective through which to examine how everyday language use, language ideologies, and literacy practices are involved in the formation of identities as linked to broader cultural logics.

Particularly relevant is the work of those scholars who have investigated language socialization processes in educational settings in immigrant/diasporic communities and multilingual societies (Baquedano-López, 2000; Fader, 2001, 2009; Friedman, 2006; García-Sánchez & Orellana, 2006; He, 2000, 2001, 2006; Howard, 2003; Moore, 2006; Paugh, 2001). In her study of teachers’ language practices in Doctrina and Catechism classes that Mexican-American children attend, Baquedano-López (2000, 2004b) has shown how teachers’ differential discursive rendition of the same story promotes alternatively different processes of identification and differentiation. In Doctrina classes, the telling of the story promotes affiliative stances that create a unique, positive Latino identity for the children, while in the context of Catechism classes, Mexican ethnicity is treated generically within the U.S. hegemonic model of the *melting-pot*. The complex link between ethnic identity and learning languages and cultural values of heritage communities has also been explored in heritage language socialization research. He’s (2004, 2006) work on Chinese heritage language classes in the U.S. has demonstrated how teachers pervasively define students in terms of their communities of origin through inference-rich membership categorization devices (Sacks, 1992) that establish similarities between these students and their Chinese heritage communities, while establishing differences between the students and other communities they may categorize themselves as members of, such as mainstream U.S. communities. Chinese-American children’s resistance towards some of these teachers’ discursive practices has led He (2000, 2004, 2006, 2008) to posit whether heritage language development can be said to be contingent upon learners’ ability to construct and maintain continuity and coherence between ethnic identity and other aspects of social identity.

Another important aspect of teachers’ language practices that has been studied is error-correction, since corrective feedback in the classroom is consequential for students’ learning and performance. Beyond the effect that error-correction strategies have for novices’ acquisition of linguistic forms (Chaudron, 1988; Van Lier, 1988), language socialization research has examined these strategies as culturally mediated practices through which novices are socialized into the socially and ideologically constructed meanings of linguistic forms, as well as apprenticed into local epistemologies, social roles, and identities (Friedman, 2006; Sterponi & Santagata, 2000).

Error-correction strategies are particularly useful to illuminate how the intersection between language socialization and language ideologies plays out in children’s socialization into the use of national and/or vernacular languages to identify themselves and others in terms of ethnic or cultural group membership (Friedman, 2006; Jaffe, 1993). In the context of language revitalization programs in Ukrainian classrooms, Friedman’s (2006) study of error-correction, in particular, underscores the ideological linkage between what being a citizen of a *distinct* Ukrainian nation means, and teachers’ socializing strategies into speaking *correctly* a *distinct* Ukrainian language free of Russian influences.

The investigation of the socio-cultural and institutional milieu in which literacy practices are embedded (Collins, 1995; Scribner & Cole, 1978, 1981) has emphasized the study of literacy as a set of social practices and cultural ideologies invaluable for children’s socialization into values, belief systems, social identities, ways of knowing, and notions of morality and personhood (Baquedano-López, 2004a; Duranti & Ochs, 1986; Fader, 2001, 2009; Moore, 2006; Schieffelin, 2000). The ways in which literacy practices are implicated in identity formation and in the (re)production of in-group boundary-maintenance mechanisms have been further developed by Street (1993). Paying attention to the structure of literacy practices themselves is crucial, since literacy practices within a given cultural group have been shown to be organized around the same system of beliefs and values as other group practices associated with the larger social order and with ratified membership in the social, economic, or political life of the community (e.g. Heath, 1986; Schieffelin & Gilmore, 1986, eds.). Fader’s (2001, 2009) research on bilingual literacy practices among groups of the Hasidic Jewish diaspora, for example, has shown how boys and girls are socialized to attain differential competence in the languages available in the linguistic repertoire of the community, namely English and Yiddish. These differences

in language use and competence are, in turn, related to *sanctioned* gendered, social roles and identities for males and females, as well as to the ways in which communal borders are reinforced in relation to outsiders, such as gentiles and other Jewish groups.

Although this wealth of research has provided critical insights on the multifaceted interplay among languages, educational practices, identity, and socialization in bilingual and/or immigrant communities, most findings have been framed either in relation to host-heritage or dominant-minority communities and languages. Interrelated phenomena that deserve further attention include: (a) the internal variability and paradoxes regarding language use and the cultural and political indexical meanings of language varieties among different members of multilingual immigrant communities; and (b) how this internal dynamism organizes, often consistent, but sometimes ambiguous and contradictory, adults' socializing efforts in relation to language education, especially where there may be some conflicting interests in achieving literacy by religious and secular elements of the children's communities of origin (Schieffelin, 1999; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). These are particularly important to understand in a contested multilingual, multicultural community where immigrant children have to negotiate *commonality of belonging* (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000) in relation to multiple levels of heightened surveillance and in-group/out-group boundary-reinforcing practices by both members of the host society, and sometimes, by adults of the Moroccan diaspora (García-Sánchez, 2009). Through an exploration of language use in actual teacher–student interactions and in classroom literacy practices in the two settings where the same group of Moroccan immigrant children attend Arabic language classes, the analysis focuses on the types of identities that are being (re)produced as 'appropriate' and 'authentic' in teachers' linguistic acts and stances (Ochs, 1990, 1992, 1993, 2002) and that, thus, become available for appropriation, negotiation, or contestation by the younger generations.

3. Methodology, data collection and research settings

3.1. Data collection, participants, and methodology

This paper is part of a larger ethnographic language socialization study documenting the linguistic ecology of a group of Moroccan immigrant children in a rural community in South-central western Spain, with 38% of the population of Moroccan origin.² This project focused on the everyday communicative practices that these children participated in with extended family, peers, teachers, and other community members in the diverse settings that make up their daily lives, including households, neighborhood peer worlds, and educational settings.³ The six focal children in the study were relatively recent immigrants to the country, roughly ranging from 1 to 6 years of residence. Information about the focal children is summarized in Table 1⁴:

During 2005–2007, the naturally-occurring interactional routines of this group of children were systematically observed and video-recorded over a period of 16 months (12 of those being consecutive). Video-recording was crucial to this study for several reasons. The video-recording of social engagements facilitates a multifaceted analysis of linguistic practices enriched by facial expressions, gaze, kinesic details, and material environments that are essential for the examination of face-to-face interaction (Goodwin, 1993). This is even more critical in interactions between expert and novices (i.e. teacher–student) where contextualization cues and non-verbal communication are often essential to

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³ In addition to educational settings, I also videotaped the children's participation in routine activities in peer group activities and with members of their extended households once a month. Because a central goal of this study was to investigate how children juggled languages and social practices to meet different situational expectations, I also videotaped children's linguistic practices in formal after-school activities (training sessions with the local track and field team), and at the local health center where they would often translate for their parents during visits to the pediatrician. This last set of data is the least systematically recorded due to the unpredictability of medical needs and/or children's availability to act as language brokers in these encounters. Finally, accompanying the video record, there are comprehensive ethnographic notes, along with photographs, maps and charts, children's textbooks and other printed material collected during fieldwork, about family and social interactions in the community, including celebrations, professional meetings, and special events, as well as more quotidian aspects of the community life. In-depth ethnographic interviews were also conducted over a period of several months with focal children, parents, teachers, and school officials.

⁴ For more detailed information about the study and the research participants, see García-Sánchez (2009). Also, the names of all participants in this study have been substituted by pseudonyms.

Table 1
Focal participants.

Name	Sex	Age (Beg. of Study)	Age (End of Study)	Time Living in Spain
Worda	F	9	10	5 years
Wafiya	F	9	10	5 years
Sarah	F	8.5	9.5	1 year
Karim	M	8.5	9.5	4 years
Mimon	M	9	10	5 years
Kamal	M	11	12	6 years

the joint achievement of social action and understanding (Zukow-Goldring, Romo, & Duncan, 1994). Video-recordings allowed me to investigate the interactional achievement of social and linguistic practices, and to identify and contrast patterns within these practices at a level that would not have been possible otherwise. In addition, the video record was further supplemented by site documents, field notes, and ethnographic diaries collected and written throughout the study. In these field notes and diaries, I recorded my daily observations and informal conversations with various members of the community.

The videotaped corpus yielded by this body of data collection was transcribed according to the conventions adapted by Goodwin (1990).⁵ Additionally, in order to create ethnographically-informed transcripts (Garrett, 2008; Schieffelin, 1979, 1990), all tapes involving the use of Moroccan and/or Classical/Standard Arabic were viewed by me and by two Moroccan and Standard Arabic native speaker assistants. These assistants transcribed and checked the transcripts for accurate hearing and language coding. All data were translated by the researcher in consultation with these native speaker assistants. The native speakers also assisted in the ethnographic annotation of the transcripts, providing nuanced metalinguistic commentary of social practices, language use, and insights into cultural ideologies and attitudes toward that use. Also, questions concerning the actions and speech of the children, as well as the situations in which these occurred, were addressed to the children and to the children's caregivers during several interviews and consultation periods over the course of the study. The transcripts were also annotated with the information gained in these consultations.

Nevertheless, representing interactions involving varieties of Arabic in transcript form presented a particular challenge in this study. Interactions in which multiple participants, with varying degrees of linguistic competence, speak two or more languages, graphically different from the Roman alphabet, are not easily rendered in transcription using the traditional methods of dealing with discourse and conversational data. Varieties of Arabic were transcribed phonemically using a combination of the systems developed by Harrel (2004) and Brustad, Al-Batal, and Al-Tonsi (2004), which felt comfortable and slightly familiar to my research assistants. A list of Arabic-Roman characters transliteration symbols can be found in Appendix A. Although distinguishing between varieties of Arabic was fairly straightforward most of the time, sometimes the task proved challenging, particularly when dealing with different dialectal varieties of Moroccan Arabic. My native-speaker research assistants helped mark words and utterances as Moroccan Arabic, Standard Arabic, or a combination, using different font colors. Annotations to the transcripts included these comments or ambiguities during the transcription.

:	Lengthening
◦	Low Volume
.	Falling contour
?	Rising contour
[Overlap
⁵ =	Latching (no interval between turns)
~	Rapid speech
-	Sudden cut-off
(.)	Brief Pause
()	Material in parenthesis indicate a hearing the transcriber was unsure about
(())	Comment by the transcriber. Not part of the talk being transcribed
<u> </u>	Speaker's emphasis or increased volume

As I logged and described the contents of each tape as soon as possible following the recording sessions, I made rough transcriptions of the data, highlighting ambiguous segments that needed further clarification, or that were particularly interesting in a first-pass viewing of the video-recordings. If interactions involved varieties of Arabic, I would discuss these segments more in-depth with my assistants, annotating and refining the transcripts in the manner described above. After completing rough transcriptions for a majority of the tapes, I began to focus on similar types/patterns of interactions and language practices. Grounding my analytic observations on the videos, field notes, and transcripts at several stages of refinement, I coded the data according to social/pedagogical practice (such as *recitation; prayer; scolding; lecture; error-correction*) or linguistic behavior (such as different *types of codeswitching (dialect-switching); directives*, etc.). Whenever I found material that was analytically interesting but did not seem to fit neatly in any of these categories, I marked the tape and the time code with the label ‘other’ and a brief description of the events transpiring in those segments.

In addition to videotaping naturally-occurring class sessions, I also had the opportunity to interview formally the Arabic language teacher of the public school in this community twice during the study. Apart from these formal interviews, I would often have informal conversations with the public school Arabic teacher throughout the course of the study. These conversations were also very useful and informative. Although the two teachers in charge of Arabic and Qur’anic lessons at the mosque-oratory were always forthcoming in responding to my questions in informal conversations, they declined repeated requests to be interviewed formally on-record. In the case of the interview data, I coded rough transcripts according to narrative content (such as *demographic background information; teacher’s beliefs about Arabic language teaching; teacher’s philosophy about classroom practice; teacher’s opinion about students and/or students’ language ability*). Organizing data in this fashion allowed me to investigate a variety of significant issues across data types, in addition to facilitating the holistic integration of the ethnographic record in my analyses. After finishing the coding stage, I proceeded to transcribe in detail representative examples of classroom interactions, as well as language and literacy practices that will be examined in subsequent sections of this paper.

During the course of the recordings I adopted the role of observer and minimized my participation in any classroom activity that teachers had planned to implement. I did not engage with the teachers in planning of classroom activities, or intervene in any way in how these activities unfolded between teachers and students. Sometimes, particularly at the beginning of the study, teachers would make reference to my visits to the class when addressing students. On occasions, they would also remind students of my presence and the presence of the camera, particularly when facing generalized rowdiness in the classroom. Even these brief references, however, became less frequent as the study proceeded and my visits came to be seen as more ordinary. Over time, instead of these references, the teachers would make eye contact with me and shake their heads, as if trying to elicit my understanding of students’ occasional misbehaviors.

3.2. Documenting Arabic language education settings in the community

In the community where this study was conducted, there were two main sites for Moroccan immigrant children to receive instruction in Arabic language. As mentioned above, children attended Arabic language classes in the Spanish public school and in after-school religious classes in a make-shift oratory-mosque run by a local Islamic cultural organization.

As part of the LACM Program, all Moroccan children in this study attended Arabic language classes once a week at the public school, while their Spanish peers attended Catholic religion classes.⁶ The LACM Program⁷ (*‘Programa de Enseñanza de Lengua Árabe y Cultura Marroquí’—‘Arabic Language and Moroccan Culture Teaching Program’*)

⁶ Biweekly recordings at the public school setting started after two months of fieldwork, preceded by a period of daily observation of children’s activities in a variety of classes and during recess. In addition to Arabic language, I also recorded other classes at the public school in order to obtain thick documentation of what a typical school day looked like from the point of view of Moroccan children, namely (1) classes in which only completely *mainstreamed* Moroccan children were present with Spanish children (Math and Social Studies); (2) classes in which all Moroccan children (*mainstreamed* and recent immigrants) were present with Spanish children (Music, and Dance and Performance⁶); and (3) The Spanish literacy and Math enhancement class from the Compensatory Education Program that the four *non-mainstreamed* Moroccan children attended.

⁷ The LACM Program was first implemented in the 1985–1986 academic year. Although the impact of this program is still limited, currently, schools from roughly 25 provinces (out of the 52 provinces of the Spanish national territory) participate in this program, offering Arabic Language and Moroccan Culture classes either during regular school hours or as a formal after-school enrichment program. For more information about this program, visit <http://www.educacion.es/cide/jsp/plantillaAncho.jsp?id=inn07>.

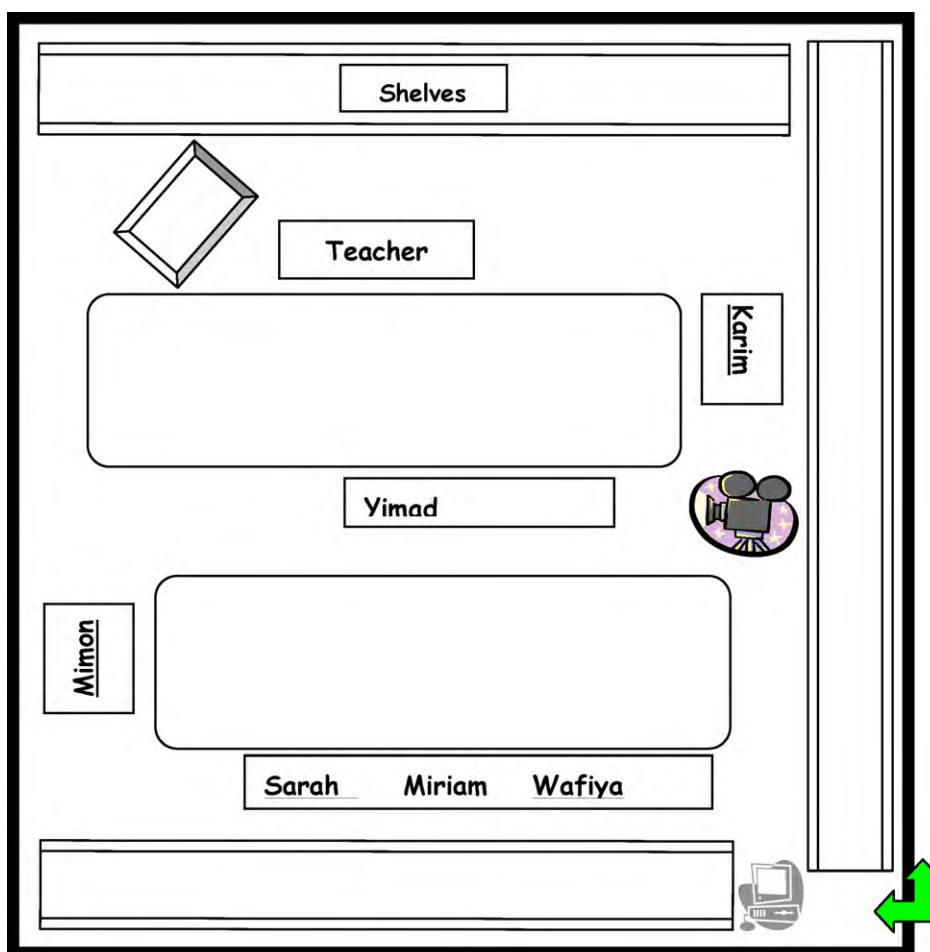


Chart 3.1. Arabic language class at the public school.

is a relatively new educational initiative jointly funded by the Spanish and Moroccan governments. Spanish schools participation in this program is voluntary. The public school of the town where I conducted my study had been participating in the LACM program for several years due to the high percentage of Moroccan immigrant students in the classroom. In the 2005–2006 academic year – the year when data collection was carried out at the school – 251 children out of a total of 678 students were immigrant children of Moroccan descent.

Under the provisions established as part of the agreement, the Spanish government offers logistical support (classroom, office space, etc.) for Arabic language classes to take place in those public schools that apply for it, and the Moroccan government is responsible for the curriculum, as well as for selecting, providing and paying for Arabic language teachers, who with very few exceptions come from Morocco. Both the Spanish and Moroccan governments are responsible for designing instructional materials and offering professional development training programs to participating teachers. A total of ten class sessions were videotaped in this setting. Below is the layout of the physical arrangement of the classroom where these classes were held (see Chart 3.1⁸). The position of the camera, while video recording, is also marked on the chart. The placement of the camera in the classroom was chosen to interfere as little as possible with class activities, while, simultaneously, having good visual angles of practices and interactions.

The small oratory (*'msid'*) that served the religious needs of the Moroccan community in this town was another setting where Moroccan immigrant children attended after-school Arabic language and Qur'anic classes in the afternoon. The

⁸ Names of focal children in this classroom have been underlined.



Chart 3.2. Qur'anic classroom in the Town Oratory.

classes were held in a small, separate room at the back of the oratory with a separate exit to the street. Therefore, the children and I never entered through the main door that gave access to the sacred space⁹ of the oratory-mosque, but through the back door on the other side of the building. Chart 3.1 marks the location of the video camera during videotaping. The classes were divided into two groups: a class for adolescents and older children that met on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays from 5:00 to 6:00 p.m., and a class for younger children that met on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Sundays from 5:00 to 6:00 p.m. This is the class that all of the focal children in the study attended, except for Kamal.¹⁰ No classes were held on Fridays, the mandatory holy day of prayer for Muslims. Classes were conducted by the local *fqui* (religious teacher),¹¹ Mohammed. The *fqui*'s wife was in charge of teaching a class for adolescent females.¹² I obtained permission to record in the oratory after the first 4 months of fieldwork.¹³ After establishing a recording schedule, I videotaped in this setting once every 2 weeks. A total of twelve class sessions were videotaped in this setting. As Chart 3.2 illustrates, boys and girls were separated into two physical spaces in the class. This organization is reminiscent of the gender arrangement during Arabic language classes at the public school, where boys and girls usually sat at different tables. Unlike in the oratory classes however, the gender arrangement in the Arabic language classes at the public school was not enforced by the teacher.

Although observations and findings about Arabic language education for Moroccan immigrant children in Spain is limited to these two contexts in the community where the study was conducted, they are still suggestive of some

⁹ This area was reserved for prayer and Friday services.

¹⁰ Kamal did not attend any of the Qur'anic classes at the oratory-mosque.

¹¹ In Morocco, this title is primarily, given to village or rural religious teachers.

¹² While the class for younger children that I visited and videotaped was not segregated by gender, and both boys and girls attended class together, class sessions for older youth were held separately for adolescent girls and boys.

¹³ During the first three months of fieldwork, I was not allowed to enter or do any video-recording in the oratory-mosque where the children attended Qur'anic and Classical Arabic classes. I had to meet several times with the leaders of the local Islamic association that ran the oratory before I was granted permission to video-record these classes. At those meetings, I was thoroughly questioned about the purpose and objectives of my research project, about other sites where I was collecting data, about how the data was going to be used in the future, and about my knowledge and opinion about Islam. Through regular discussions with these leaders, they became better acquainted with me and my research, and I was eventually given access to the classes held in the oratory in December. Following religious protocol of respect in this sacred environment, I wore a headscarf covering my hair and loose pieces of clothing which covered my arms up to my wrists and my legs down to my ankles while video-recording at the oratory.

general trends and processes of how language practices and literacy strategies are implicated in the manufacturing of ethnic and religious diaspora identities in these learning settings.

4. The teachers in this study

The figures of the two teachers, more specifically, are critical in understanding how some of these general trends play out in the context of this Moroccan community. Of particular interest are the different ways in which they embody the tensions, common among transnational networks of the Moroccan diaspora, surrounding the role Arabic language education in relation to younger generations' socialization into what it means to be a Moroccan (which often goes hand in hand with what it means to be a Muslim) in Western, secular contexts. Below I provide background information about these two teachers that will help illuminate my analyses of similarities and differences in classroom language practices at the school and at the small oratory-mosque.

4.1. The Arabic language teacher at the public school

The Arabic language teacher at the public school can be considered an '*official*' leader in that his authority emanates directly from the Moroccan educational authorities that sent him to this Spanish community to impart the Moroccan government-sanctioned curriculum of the 'Arabic Language and Moroccan Culture Teaching Program' (LACM), a program additionally legitimized by Spanish educational authorities. In this light, he can be considered an agent of doxa (Bourdieu, 1977), since he is in a position to uphold (and, in many ways, in charge of upholding) the taken for granted representations of Moroccan culture and the doxic ideologies regarding the symbolic value of the Arabic language of the country of origin (in this case, Morocco). A cosmopolitan man in his early thirties belonging to the urban, college-educated elites, he tended to separate himself from most of his fellow Moroccan nationals in the town, and barely socialized with them outside of his role as the teacher of their children. Certainly, his '*official*,' bureaucratic position set him apart from the rest of the community. In addition to that, however, he held ambivalent attitudes towards the rest of the Moroccan community whom he often described to me in pejorative terms, such as "atrasados" (backwards). The political economy of language varieties (Irvine, 1989) in Moroccan communities, as well as the ideological value of dialectal varieties of Arabic was a critical part of his both literal and symbolic distancing from most of his fellow Moroccan nationals. For instance, he explained to me in one of the interviews, when we were discussing the challenges he was facing in Arabic language classes, that the fact that Moroccan immigrant children in this community came from rural areas of Morocco was a problem:

1. T: Y sobre todo el tipo de gente que se encuentra aquí en este pueblo (.)
And above all the type of people found here in this town (.)
son gente procedente del campo.
They are people ((who come)) from the countryside ((i.e. rural areas))
2. T: No son gente procedente de la ciudad.
They aren't people ((who come)) from the city.
3. T: Hay una cierta diferencia (.) entre el alumno del campo=
There is a certain difference (.) between students from rural areas=
=y el alumno de la ciudad
and students from the city.
4. T: El dialecto de la ciudad marroquí es un dialecto avanzado=
The dialect of the Moroccan city is an advanced dialect=
=el dialecto del campo es- muy bajo.
=The dialect of the countryside ((i.e. rural areas)) is- very low.
5. T: Es el dialecto que no tiene relación con la lengua fusHa
It's the dialect that does not have any relationship with the fusHa
language((i.e. Modern Standard Arabic))
6. T: En las ciudades la gente utiliza las palabras de fusHa en su charla=
In cities, people use words from fusHa in their talk=
=y cuando hablan (.)
=and when they speak (.)
7. en el campo no.
in the countryside ((i.e. rural areas)), they don't.

It is important to note that the language variety stigmatized in the expressed beliefs of the Arabic teacher at the public school is not Moroccan Arabic per se,¹⁴ but the dialectal variety spoken in rural areas where most of his students are from. He considers this dialect as “low,” not necessarily in direct comparison with Classical/Standard Arabic, but with the dialectal variety spoken in urban areas by, presumably, people from his same educational, social, and economic background. This variety, that has been called alternatively the *Middle Variety*, *Educated Spoken Arabic*, or *Modern Moroccan Arabic* (see Ennaji, 2005), is a form of dialectal Moroccan Arabic heavily permeated by vocabulary and expressions of Classical/Standard Arabic used by educated, urban elites in their everyday interactions in the public space. It is perhaps not surprising that the teacher uses this *educated, modern* dialect as the measure by which to evaluate children’s varieties of Moroccan Arabic, given the increased *legitimization* in Bourdieu’s sense (1991), of this *middle* variety after over half a century of, albeit partial and not completely successful, educational policies of *arabization*. What is most interesting about the teacher’s articulation of this evaluation is the naturalness with which it masks the ideological underpinnings of the *arabization* policies through which Moroccan elites and nationalist intelligentsia pressed Classical/Standard Arabic into service to define national and ethnic identity, as well as cultural authenticity, for the vast majority of the population who spoke colloquial Arabic or Berber (Ennaji, 2005; Holt, 1994; Suleiman, 1994, 2003. See also footnote 15). The value of Classical/Standard Arabic as an ethnic/national identity marker for Moroccan immigrant children, or in other words, the authoritatively sanctioned ideology that knowing Classical/Arabic is part of what being a Moroccan means, was pervasive in my conversations with adults in the community, including parents and the *fqih*, in spite of the fact that Classical/Standard Arabic was rarely used in everyday communicative practices, an issue that I discuss in the following section. This idea, however, was perhaps most explicitly articulated on record by the Arabic language teacher in the school, who, when I asked him about the most important thing he hoped students would learn in his class, responded:

T: Aprender el árabe es- (0.2)
 Learning Arabic is- (0.2)
 Por lo menos yo **puedo garantizar** para ellos=
 At least I **can guarantee** for them=
 la **identidad espiritual y cultural** de su país=
 the **spiritual and cultural identity** of their country=
 en la medida- (.) bueno, asegurar su identidad.
 In that- (.) well, ensuring their identity.

Particularly relevant, for the purposes of this paper, is how this view of Classical/Standard Arabic as embodying a sense of Moroccan national identity and cultural authenticity continues to be reproduced in the social fields of Arabic language education for younger generations of Moroccan children in migration contexts, not only in the expressed beliefs of adults, but also in classroom language practices, a point to which I will return in the analysis below.

4.2. The *Fqih*

Like the Arabic teacher at the school, the Arabic and religious teacher at the mosque (*fqih*) was also a Moroccan man in his early thirties, recently married, and with a very young child. In spite of these similarities, there were important differences between them. The *fqih*’s authority did not derive from any *official* religious role (in that he was not appointed by any Moroccan religious and/or educational authorities in the same way the teacher at the school was), but rather from a grass-roots Muslim organization with transnational ties, for which he volunteered to teach Classical Arabic and the Qur’an to the town children in the afternoons after school. Also, he did not have as much formal education as the teacher at the school; the *fqih* did not have a college degree, for example. His background was more similar to that of many Moroccan nationals in the town (in that he was from the same region as many of the other families and also regularly worked as a manual laborer to support his family). He was well-known, liked, and respected by the Moroccan parents I had the opportunity to talk to and by other Moroccan adults in the community, who considered him a good man, very

¹⁴ This stigmatization of the vernacular varieties figures prominently in ideologies regarding Classical/Standard Arabic not only in Morocco, but also throughout the Middle East. In this sense, Eisele (2003) identified three ideological features that are usually ascribed to Classical/Standard Arabic, namely the features of *purity*, *unity*, and *continuity*. In this light, vernaculars are often seen as corrupt versions of the Classical language. Moreover, the closer to Classical/Standard Arabic a dialectal variety is deemed to be, the higher the status of that dialectal variety in relation to other vernaculars.

patient with the children. In my observations, he also had a good rapport with the children. The focal children in my study who attended his classes spoke well of him, and, Wafiya and Mimon, in particular, attended his classes with enthusiasm.

The *fqih* in this town can be compared to what has been called in other Moroccan diaspora contexts, such as the Netherlands, ‘parish’ leaders who have influence over Muslim communities at the neighborhood level (Cesari, 2007). In comparing these ‘parish’ leaders with cosmopolitan, educated elites of those same Muslim countries, Cesari (2007) has characterized them as seeking “to give new life within a European context to cultural models that originate from Islamic home countries. . . [having] greater tendency to reproduce tradition” (p. 115 and 117). Certainly, the religious and cultural symbolic value of Classical/Standard Arabic for Moroccan immigrant children’s sense of self was also prominent in the expressed beliefs of the *fqih* at the mosque, who, in informal conversations with me, told me that learning Classical Arabic was critical not only to build a strong ethnic and religious identity, but also to protect children from pernicious influences that may lead them down “the wrong path.” When I asked about the relationship between the latter and learning Classical Arabic, the *fqih* told me that knowing Classical Arabic was the foundation for being a good Muslim, and that without that foundation the children would not know “who they are,” and be, therefore, more vulnerable to bad influences. He included among these modern music, choice of clothing, potential use of drugs and alcohol, disrespect of parents and authority figures.

Finally, it is also important to note that the teachers knew of each other, but did not have a personal relationship, and never visited each other’s classrooms. Nevertheless, both (the teacher at the school and the *fqih*) expressed some reservations and concern about what they assumed the other one was teaching the children. For example, the *fqih* conveyed doubt at what he assumed was a lack of appropriate exposure to Islamic genres and Muslim cultural values in the Arabic classes of the teacher at the school. The latter was skeptical at language and religious classes imparted by a man whom he considered not very well educated. In various occasions, he expressed that, in his view, the *fqih*’s teachings would only reinforced what he considered to be the *backwards* ways of the community. Once during our conversations, he asked me about the content of the classes at the mosque. When I responded very generically that the *fqih* was teaching Arabic and Islam, the teacher said to me “lo que ese hombre enseña a los niños no es Arabe, ni es Islam, ni es nada,” (What that man teaches the children is neither Arabic, nor Islam, nor anything).

5. The role of Classical/Standard Arabic in everyday life in the community

Like in other European countries (namely France and the Netherlands) that established so-called *first language maintenance* programs for North African immigrant children in the 1980s (Holt, 1994), Classical/Standard Arabic (Al-‘arabiya Al-fusHa) is also the language of choice in both classes in the mosque and in school in this rural southwestern community in Spain.

Classical and Standard Arabic, however, are very rarely spoken in Moroccan immigrant households in Spain. Rather, the mother tongues and languages of everyday interactions with family, neighbors, and friends for Moroccan immigrant children are either Moroccan Arabic and/or one of the three dialectal varieties of Berber. In fact, the Classical and Standard varieties of Arabic are not mother tongues for Moroccan immigrant children in Spain nor for any Moroccan or for any Arab, in general. These varieties are never *acquired* in the home, but are *learned* at school and other formal settings, since the classical/standard and colloquial varieties are fairly distinct. For this reason, in recent years some researchers have problematized the teaching of Classical Arabic in *first language maintenance programs* to immigrant children of North African descent in Europe for being at odds with children’s socio-linguistic backgrounds (Abu-Haidar, 1994; Sakkouni, 1998; Tilmatine, 2002; Van de Wetering, 1992).

Moroccan parents, Moroccan educators, as well as community and religious leaders, however, consider it important for children to attend Classical/Standard Arabic classes in order to preserve children’s linguistic, cultural, and religious heritage.¹⁵ Most parents of the focal children, and other Moroccan parents I had the opportunity to talk throughout the

¹⁵ In Morocco, Classical/Standard Arabic is used in mosques, in government administration, in the media, in literature, and, increasingly, in political and scientific discourse. Furthermore, it is not only the official language of Morocco, but also the language of literacy that, along with French, is sanctioned by educational policies. The push for arabization and the rise of Classical/Standard Arabic to the official language of the independent Moroccan nation has to be understood in terms of the symbolic position to which Classical/Standard Arabic was elevated during the struggle for independence in the first half of the 20th century. Like in many other nationalist movements throughout the Middle East, in the Moroccan fight against European colonialism, Classical/Standard Arabic came to be viewed ideologically as a way to access modernity while safeguarding Moroccan national identity and cultural authenticity (Ennaji, 2005; Suleiman, 1994, 2003).

study, emphasized the sacred nature of this language variety by coinciding in asserting that it was important for their children to learn it because it was “the language of the Qur’an.” Some parents and, certainly, the Arabic teacher at the school also highlighted the political importance and the global communicative value of this language variety as the lingua franca of the Arab and, more generally, of the Muslim world.

In addition to not being the language of everyday interactions, knowledge of Classical/Standard Arabic among the Moroccan immigrant adults in this community varied considerably depending on the levels of formal education attained and exposure to the language through mass media and global means of communication, such as the Internet or satellite television. Yet Classical/Standard Arabic plays a significant role in the linguistic repertoires of Moroccan households for religious purposes, and also as a means of keeping up with news and current events from their home country and other areas of the Arab world. For instance, it is extremely common to find Moroccan immigrant families in this community listening to Al-jazeera news casts and other popular stations in the Arabic-speaking world during family meals and gatherings. In addition, the sacred value of Classical Arabic is underscored by the contexts in which Moroccan immigrant children come into contact with this language: in prayers of family members and in the mosque, in televised religious speeches that are listened to in Moroccan households during Islamic celebrations, and through the prominent display of Qur’anic suras on walls and in common spaces of the households, i.e. the living-room.

6. Moroccan immigrant children’s language socialization into ethnic and religious identities

This section examines how the complex paradoxes regarding both everyday use and symbolic value of language varieties in this community, described in the preceding pages, come to live in the discursive resources through which teachers construct what they considered to be ‘appropriate’ and ‘authentic’ ethnic and religious identities for the children. Comparing language and literacy practices in the *fields* of Arabic language classes at the school and in the mosque is productive because it allows us to trace *homologies*, or similarity of organization in linguistic and cultural (re)production, across these two settings (Bourdieu, 1993), but also to uncover different kinds of strategies teachers engage in and the differential effect pursued by putting these strategies to use in the classroom. Outlining both processes of homology and heterogeneity is particularly important to understand the degree of redundancy in language socialization practices, as well as the possible areas of disjuncture that may impinge upon children’s ability to negotiate *commonality of belonging* (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000) in their multiple communities. These processes are explored through an examination of the (1) literacy practices and instructional organization of the classrooms; (2) teacher’s categorization of students in classroom discourse; and (3) treatment of children’s *mistakes* in error-correction practices. What follows is a limited but representative sampling of teachers’ discourses and practices, and the similarities and variability between these.

6.1. Literacy practices and instructional organization

Literacy practices in Arabic language classes in the public school and in the mosque are remarkably similar, although there are also differences in the foci of the lessons (Table 3). A typical Qur’anic lesson at the mosque usually starts with children’s choral and individual repetition and recitation of Qur’anic suras, followed by children’s recitation of the five pillars of Islam; recitation of the Arabic alphabet and drilling of individual letters; recitation of the months of the Arabic calendar, and a final chanting of a prayer or a song in praise of Prophet Mohammed. In Arabic language classes at the school, instruction usually opens with an oral discussion about Moroccan traditions and/or religious and national holidays. These discussions about the meaning of secular and religious traditions are always carried out in Moroccan Arabic, and sometimes preceded or followed by children being exhorted to repeat the national motto of Morocco, namely “Allāh, al WaTan, al Malik” (God, Homeland, King).

These oral discussions are followed by the presentation and drilling of individual letters of the Arabic alphabet. Very much in keeping with the literacy practices that have been described as traditional in Moroccan schooling, the target letter is written on the board in each of its positional configurations (initial, medial, final, and alone), with all the possible short and long vowel combinations, and as it appears in a few words and one or two short sentences.¹⁶ The drilling of individual letters consists of series of choral and individual repetitions of the target letter, words, and sentences.

¹⁶ See Wagner et al. (1986) and Wagner (1993).

Table 2
Guided repetition in Arabic classes at the mosque.

1.	F:	qul ya ayyoha alkafirūn
2.	Ss:	qul ya ayyoha alkafirūn
3.	F:	la a'budu ma ta'budūn
4.	Ss:	la a'budu ma ta'budūn
5.	F:	wa la antum'abidūn ma a'bud
6.	Ss:	wa la antum'abidūn ma a'bud
7.	F:	wa la ana'abidun ma'abadtum
8.	Ss:	wa la ana'abidun ma'abadtum
9.	F:	wa la antum'abidūn ma a'bud
10.	Ss:	wa la antum'abidūn ma a'bud
11.	F:	lakum dīnokum wa liya dīn.
12.	Ss:	lakum dīnokum wa liya dīn.
13.	F:	antum You- 2 nd person plural

F = Fqih; Ss = Students Surat Alkafirouna.

Depending on how much time is devoted to the drilling on letters, the teacher proceeds with reading of tales and stories in Modern Standard Arabic, usually abridged versions of tales from traditional collections, such as *One Thousand and One Arabian Nights*. The inclusion of these traditional stories – that in the past used to be performed orally in families, coffeeshops, and neighborhood gatherings – is a practice that permeates school curricula and textbook not only in Morocco, but also throughout the Arab world, where the transmission of cultural values via traditional stories is seen as crucial for children's moral, social, and emotional development.¹⁷ This instructional practice also underscores the symbolic position of Classical/Standard Arabic as the vehicle of the *Great Tradition* of Arabic thought and literature; an argument that has been often used in discourses of arabization to promote a lineage between Classical/Standard Arabic and Moroccan cultural authenticity (Ennaji, 2005). The teacher's reading of traditional tales is followed by a series of oral questions and answers about the story. The final minutes of a lesson are invariably devoted to students copying in their notebooks the letters, words, and short sentences that have been the object of study.

In terms of the similarities between these two contexts, a crucial common feature is the heavy reliance on rote memorization and recitation as a pedagogical approach to the acquisition of literacy in both classes. Memorization and recitation has been described as a foundational approach to literacy instruction not only in Morocco, but also in other areas of Africa and the Middle East where Islam is an integral part of a community's cultural and religious life.¹⁸ *Guided-repetition* (Moore, 2006), a practice that involves modeling by the expert and imitation of the model by a novice, followed by rehearsal and performance by the novice, was the core literacy practice in both settings and also the method that both teachers associated with effective learning. In both Arabic language classes, teacher and *fqih's* modeling was consistently prefaced by bold directives commanding children to be silent, to listen and repeat so that they could learn, as can be seen in the two following examples. The first example is extracted from an Arabic language lesson at the mosque (Example 1) and the other from an Arabic language lesson at the school (Example 2):

Example 1:

F= Fqih

1. F: Sst šufu sst. Ġadi ngul ana o gulu moraya. Askat
Shh look Shh. I'm going to say and you repeat after me. Be silent

Example 2:

T= Teacher

1. T: Saktu, khaliwani ana ngul bašya'araf
Be quiet, let me say it so that you learn

Tables 2 and 3 illustrate respectively the various ways in which guided repetition is enacted in the teaching of Arabic to Moroccan immigrant children in both the mosque and the public school. In Table 2, the *fqih* models sentence by

¹⁷ See Warnock Fernea (1995, pp. 421–422).

¹⁸ See Ezzaki et al. (1999), Moore (2006), Wagner et al. (1986) and Wagner (1993).

Table 3

Guided repetition in Arabic classes at the school.

1. almudiru ru ru ru almudiru Left ra ra ra left the principal ru ru ru the principal	S1:kharaža ra ra ra kharaža
2. From where did the principal leave?	T: min ayina kharaža almudiru?
3. From his house ri ri ri from his house	S1:min darihi ri ri ri min darihi
4. who left?	T: man ladhi kharaž?
5. The principal	S1:almudiru
6. Sentence (= put it in a sentence or give me a sentence)	P: žumla
7. The principal left	S1:kharaža almudiru
8. From where did the principal leave? ((addressing a different student))	T: min ayina kharaža almudiru?
9. From his house	S2: min darihi
10. From his house	T: min darihi

T: Teacher; S1: One of the students; S2: A different student.

sentence a *sura* from the Qur'an. Each sentence is repeated chorally by all the children in the class. When the *sura* is complete, the fqih turns to the children and says “antuma” (you-plural) in line 13, prompting the children to rehearse the full *sura* on their own. After a choral rehearsal, individual children are usually called to the front of the class to perform publicly the *sura* target of instruction for the fqih and for the rest of their classmates.

In Table 3, after the teacher has modeled the target letter, syllables, words, and sentences that are written on the board, an individual student is selected to perform the linguistic forms that have just been modeled by the teacher. The student starts reading off the board in line 1. After the student completes the first sentence, the teacher scaffolds the student's reading-performance with a prompting question (line 2) whose *right* answer is the next fragment that the student is supposed to read off the board. The teacher continues to prompt the student and scaffold his reading performance with a similar question in line 4. When the teacher is satisfied with the performance of the first student, a second student is selected (line 8), with whom the teacher engages in a similar format of questions and answers. These exchanges were repeated until all the students in the class had had an opportunity to practice the target linguistic forms that were written on the board.

A difference to notice between these two examples of guided repetition is that in Arabic classes at the school greater attention was placed on students' understandings of the lexico-semantic meanings of the linguistic forms they were learning, whereas at the mosque the emphasis was on students' exact phonological reproduction of the Qur'anic text, regardless of the children's understandings of the lexico-semantic meaning. It is perhaps not surprising that the transmission of knowledge is more authoritative in the religious context.

This pervasive literacy approach based on guided repetition in the two classes can be seen as essential resource for apprenticing Moroccan immigrant children into the ideologies and identities valued by adults in their communities of origin, namely for these children's socialization into cultural values that are associated with an Arab-Islamic identity. The acts of repetition, memorization, and recitation are integral part of socialization in that other cultural values are enacted in this practice, those of respect and obedience to authority, on the one hand, and of submission to the word of God as embodied in the Qur'an, on the other. Therefore, through participation in guided repetition practices with their teachers and peers in both Arabic classes in the mosque and at the school, Moroccan immigrant children are learning the Arabic language and the indexical meanings associated with it, as well as learning that the sole source of authority and knowledge is the teacher, whom they must respect and obey. Respect and obedience to authority, particularly to the authority of the father (or in his absence to the authority of the male relative closest in kin), is one of the most salient

Table 4
Instructional Organization in Arabic Language Classes.

Instructional organization of Arabic classes at the mosque	Instructional organization of Arabic classes at school
Recitation of suras from the Qur'an	Oral discussions about Moroccan traditions and/or religious and national holidays
Recitation of the Arabic alphabet and drilling of individual letters	Presentation and drilling of individual letters
Recitation of the 5 Pillars of Islam	Reading of traditional tales and stories
Recitation of the months of the Arabic calendar	Students copy on their notebooks the letters, words, and short sentences
Final prayer or final song in praise of Prophet Mohammed	

features of family structure and social organization in Morocco.¹⁹ Respect and obedience to adult authority figures was also a pervasive object of socialization routines directed at children in the immigrant Moroccan households that I observed. Children's talking back to parents or refusing to do something they were asked was considered disrespectful, and adults often responded to these transgressions with the scolding interjection "Hašuma" (Shame or shameful).

In addition, in the context of Qur'anic lessons specifically, children's involvement in the act of memorization and recitation is also important for their identities as Muslims. It is important to remember that the act of memorization and recitation is considered a form of worship in its own right, and that a drop in memorization in contemporary times is commonly interpreted as an indication of the deterioration of the faith and of the weakening of belief.²⁰ In the verbatim recitation of Qur'anic suras, Moroccan immigrant children learn that the only valid source of all truth is God and God's revelation through the Qur'an, and, thus, are taught to accept the authority of the Book words (which is understood to be the actual *Word of God*) and of the *fqih*, even when they do not understand (or perhaps because they do not understand) what they are saying. This authoritative stance towards the act of recitation is also underscored by both teachers' emphasis on the exact phonological reproduction of texts and their insistence that children must learn to pronounce words and sounds in Arabic "*perfectly from the beginning*".

Another crucial similarity in Arabic language classes both at the mosque and in the school is the role of Moroccan Arabic, children's primary code in everyday family interactions. Although this not the language in which the children receive instruction, this variety figures prominently in the classroom. This is mainly due to the fact that Moroccan immigrant children in these classrooms, whose mother tongue is Moroccan Arabic, have not yet developed the necessary linguistic competence for the classes to be conducted entirely in Classical/Standard Arabic. Thus, Moroccan Arabic is positioned in both classrooms as a language to teach *in*, but not as a language worth *teaching*, and as the language to teach Moroccan immigrant children about *their* culture, but not as a language that is associated with an appropriate linguistic identity for the children. This is underscored by the fact that Classical/Standard Arabic is centrally positioned in the pedagogical practices of the classrooms as the only language that is important to study and learn well, since it is conflated with Islam and the Qur'an, as well as with the great Arabic literary tradition. To this regard, the teacher and the *fqih* reproduce doxic representations of Classical/Standard Arabic, common in both Morocco and Moroccan transnational networks (Ennaji, 2005; Gill, 1999), as the sanctioned and legitimate source of linguistic and cultural authenticity for Moroccan immigrant children.

As illustrated in Table 4, there are also crucial differences in content between Arabic language classes at the mosque and in the school, in particular, the higher emphasis on secular literature and civil traditions in Arabic language classes at the school. Another important difference is the variable treatment that certain linguistic forms are given in both classes, in particular the preeminence given in Arabic classes at the mosque to those linguistic forms that are imbued with cultural meanings associated with Islam to the detriment of other linguistic forms that are considered as emanating from Western influence in the Arabic language. In both of these settings, for instance, in every lesson children were asked to repeat that day's date in Arabic. The linguistic forms used to teach children how to say and write the date in Arabic *appropriately* was, however, different. In Arabic classes at the mosque, after a period of time of learning and repetition of the months of Islamic Hijri calendar, children were emphatically taught to say the month and the year for

¹⁹ This family structure and social organization has also been described as common, and as a feature that is the object of socialization routines directed at children from an early age throughout the Arab world. See Warnock Fernea (1995) and Belarbi (1995).

²⁰ See Wagner et al. (1986) and Hefner (2007).

any given date according to the Islamic calendar. The following example is an excerpt from one of the first days in which children were introduced to this calendar:

Example 3

F: Fqih

Ss: Students

1. F: sam'o had aššohur
Listen to these months
2. yanayar, fobrayar, maras, abril, may, yunyu.
January, February, March, April, May, June.
3. ġadin'awdolhom žama'atan.
We are going to repeat them together.
4. → had aššohur hiys baškan'arfu aššohur alfaransiya.
It's with these months that we know the French months.
5. ((F. and Ss. repeat together the first six months of the Gregorian calendar))
6. → T: aššohur al'arabiya alHižriya:
The Arabic Months are ((literally the Arabic Hijri²¹ months))
7. muHarram, Safar, rabī' alawwal, rabī' azzani, žomoda
alawla, žomoda azzaniya.
((Literal translation: Forbidden, Yellow, First Spring, Second Spring, First Freeze, Second Freeze)).

What is interesting about this excerpt is how the months of the Gregorian calendar are presented as being *French* (in reference to the colonial legacy of Morocco), in spite of the fact that this is the official calendar that has been used for decades throughout Morocco for all civil purposes, as well as for everyday purposes. The months of the Gregorian calendar, which can be said to have originated from Western influences in the Arabic language, are introduced as foreign to children's primary identification, particularly in contrast to the months of the Islamic Hijri calendar, which are presented as *Arabic*. The conflation of the ethnic/national adjective with the religious calendar marks the latter as somehow more *authentic* in relation to children's processes of identification. This is underscored by the fqih's emphasis on children's being able to say the date according to the lunar Hijri calendar in the lessons following this exchange.

In contrast, in the Arabic classes at school, children learned the Arabic forms of the months and the year according to the Gregorian calendar. Every class, before beginning the lesson, the teacher would write the date on the board and asked individual children to repeat it:

Example 4

T: Teacher

S: Student

1. → T: šanu lyum?
What today? ((What is today's date?))
2. S: latnin
Monday ((In Moroccan Arabic))
3. T: aliznañ
Monday ((Correcting student in Standard Arabic))
4. → S: aliznañ sata maris alfañ wa sata
Monday, March 6 2006

As the previous example illustrates, the school teacher's emphasis in these exchanges was not different calendars, but rather making sure that children knew the Standard Arabic form and were able to differentiate these forms from the colloquial variants, which were object of routine correction in the *official* space of the class, a point to which I will return later in the analysis.

If the similarities in practices described above position Classical/Standard Arabic as the primary source of linguistic and cultural authenticity for the children, these instructional differences between the teacher and the *fqih* can also be seen as embodying divergent discourses among Moroccan speech communities and transnational networks regarding the value and the functions of Classical/Standard Arabic: a secular discourse that sees Classical/Standard Arabic as a language that can facilitate Moroccans access to modernity, while safeguarding their cultural identity, and a religious discourse that considers Classical/Standard Arabic as a means to the revival and spread of Islamic values.²² These

²¹ The Arabic word Hijrah means emigration. The Islamic calendar is a lunar calendar based on the year Prophet Mohammed emigrated to Medinah in 622 of the Gregorian calendar.

²² See Mouhssine (1995) and Ennaji (2005) for further elaboration of this topic.

larger competing cultural discourses also interact in interesting ways with the desired outcomes expressed by the teachers in this community. For the teacher at the school children's learning of the Standard language was viewed as a remedy to what he considered children's *backwards* ways (including ways of speaking), whereas for the *fqih* learning Classical/Standard Arabic was a way of instilling in children *a sense of who they are* in relation to Muslim subjectivities.

6.2. Teachers' treatment of mistakes in error-correction practices

Teachers' treatment of mistakes in Arabic classes, analyzed in relation to the instructional organization of the classes, provide further insights into the similarities and differences described above. The organization of mistakes in Arabic language classes in both the mosque and the school are characterized by its public and unmitigated nature. As discussed in earlier sections, one of the most common pedagogical features of these two classes is children's public performance in front of the whole class. In this context, when a mistake occurs, it becomes the focus of collective attention and discussion. Therefore, teachers' treatment of mistakes becomes an important tool not only for the socialization of the child who has made the mistake, but also for the socialization of the rest of his/her peers. When looking at the *repair trajectory* of teachers' correction sequences in the data, two different types of *trouble sources* can be distinguished (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977): children's use of Moroccan Arabic dialect in the official space of the class²³ and children's misuse of Classical/Standard Arabic linguistic forms. The teacher is most often the initiator of the repair sequence.

6.2.1. Children's use of Moroccan Arabic

Most often, particularly in the Arabic classes at the public school, children's responses in Moroccan Arabic were treated as inappropriate and as incorrect, even when children's responses were neither incorrect from a linguistic nor from a communicative point of view. An instance of this practice was already introduced earlier in the paper in Example 4 above, reproduced again here:

- | | | |
|----|----|--|
| 1. | T: | šanu lyum?
What today? ((What is today's date? In Moroccan Arabic)) |
| 2. | S: | latnin
Monday ((In Moroccan Arabic)) |
| 3. | T: | aliznaïn
Monday ((Correcting student in Standard Arabic)) |

Given that the teacher asks in line 1 "šanu lyum?" (What's today's?) in Moroccan Arabic, the child's response of the day of the week in Moroccan Arabic is not only correct, but also appropriate. The colloquial form is, however, treated as invalid and corrected by the teacher in line 3, who provides the Standard Arabic form for the child to repeat. This pattern of not validating children's responses in Moroccan Arabic as appropriate answers to the teacher's questions was pervasive in Arabic language classes at the school, as can also be seen in the following example:

Example 5

- | T= Teacher | S1= Student | S2= A different student |
|------------|-------------|---|
| 1. | T: | ra Haraf ra škun ya'aTini kalamat fīha Haraf ra'? |
| | | "Ra" letter "r" who gives me words with the letter "r" |
| 2. | S1: | gerḍun
Mono |
| 3. | T: | qirdun gbila gultigerḍun wa SahaHtahalak
Monkey, before you said "monkey" and I corrected it for you |
| 4. | S2: | alferan- feran
The oven, oven |
| 5. | T: | furnun
Oven |

²³ It is important to say that there was a great deal of *by-play* (Goffman, 1981) among the children in Arabic heritage language classes. This *unofficial* discourse was conducted in Moroccan Arabic, the mother tongue of the children in these classes. Children's by-play in the unofficial space of the classroom was only the object of teachers' attention in terms of keeping discipline and order in the class; children's choice of language during these interactions was virtually ignored.

In this example, the teacher asks students to give him words containing the letter “R,” (Line 1). In spite of posing the question in Moroccan Arabic, when one of the students provides “*gerḍun*” (monkey in Moroccan Arabic), which certainly contains the letter “R,” the teacher again treats the student’s answer as incorrect by providing the Standard Arabic word for monkey in Line 3, “*qirdun*,” and adding “before you said “monkey” (*gerḍun*) and I corrected it for you”. The same occurs in Lines 4 and 5 when a different student offers the word “*feran*” (oven in Moroccan Arabic) as an alternative example. Sometimes the school teacher enlisted other students in providing the *correct* linguistic form,²⁴ as in the next example:

Example 6

T= Teacher	Ss= Students	S2= A different student
1.	T:	'iTat MoHammed 'iTat MoHammed
2.	S:	HaDer Present
3.	T:	Sād Amina Sād Amina
4.	Ss:	[maši hadera not present
	Ss:	[makainaš Not here
	Ss:	[ġā'iba absent
5.	T:	aš kangulu? What do we say?
6.	S2:	ġā'iba Absent
7.	T:	ġā'iba (.) TalHa Kamal Absent (.) TalHa Kamal

The practice of taking roll is an important framing activity in that it marks that the serious business of the class has begun. If short informal jokes and games between teachers and students are usually allowed before the teacher starts taking roll, once the teacher has taken roll, these playful activities become objects of disciplinary measures. Thus, taking roll can also be seen as an activity that frames two symbolic spaces in the class: the *official* space where only the Classical/Standard variety of the language is allowed and the *unofficial* space where children’s use of the dialectal variety is not an object of evaluation (see footnote 23). While taking roll call, in line 3 of the transcript, the teacher mentions the name of a student who happens to be absent on that day. In response, the students offer three different possibilities (line 4): (1) *Maši hadera*, which is a mixture of the dialectal form *maši* (not) and the Standard Arabic form *hadera*, which means “present”; (2) the second response *makainaš* is a dialectal form to indicate non-possession or absence of something or, as in this case, of somebody; (3) the third response *ġā'iba* is the Standard Arabic form for “absent”. The teacher, picking up on the first two problematic responses given by students, responds addressing the whole class with the question *aš kangulu?* (What do we say?) in line 5, which is in effect, like the two previous examples, a next-turn other initiation of repair. This type of repair has been described as indexing a stance of disaffiliation with what has been said in the previous turn, in this case, the students’ use of the dialectal forms (Schegloff et al., 1977). In line 6, students provide the Standard Arabic form of *absent* *ġā'iba*, a response that is ratified as correct and appropriate by the teacher’s repetition of *ġā'iba* in line 7, since this repetition validates students’ answer by incorporating it into the official discourse of the classroom (Duff, 2000; Cullen, 2002).

Although children’s use of Moroccan Arabic was also a potential target of correction in Arabic language classes in the mosque, there are some crucial differences between this error-correction practice in the school and mosque. While this practice was pervasive in the Arabic classes at the school, in the mosque data, I only found a handful of examples that focused on Moroccan Arabic as the source of error. In addition to this difference in the number of instances found, there was also a difference in the correction strategies used. If in Arabic language classes in the school, we find mostly

²⁴ The recruitment of peers in error-correction sequences has also been described in other classroom environments where socialization into language ideologies that define what speaking correctly means is also crucial for children’s development of ethnic/national linguistic identities (Friedman, 2006).

other-initiated repair correction sequences, in the mosque, when drawing attention to Moroccan Arabic as a source of error, the *fqih* engaged in *preemptive strategies* (Friedman, 2006). Example 7 is taken from one of the Arabic lessons at the mosque. In this segment students are learning the days of the week. One of the students has just recited successfully the days of the weeks in Standard Arabic and is proceeding to write on the board *Wednesday*.

Example 7

F: *Fqih*

Ss: Students

- | | | |
|----|-----|--|
| 1. | F: | mašnū ġadi ndiru azzulatha'a walla attulata?
What do we put (meaning=What do we write on the board)
azzulatha'a ((Classical/Standard Arabic for Wednesday)) or
attulata (Moroccan Arabic for Wednesday) |
| 2. | Ss: | Azzulatha'a
Wednesday ((Classical/Standard Arabic for Wednesday)) |
| 3. | F: | Azzulatha'a
Wednesday |

Wednesday might be a potential source of error for Moroccan children, since the dialectal form (attulata) is fairly linguistically close to the Classical/Standard form (azzulatha'a). As the student begins to write the word on the board, the *fqih* intervenes, explicitly drawing attention to features of Moroccan and Classical/Standard Arabic that could potentially be a source of error. In line 1, he asks the whole class "What do we put" (meaning=What do we write on the board?) azzulatha'a (Classical Arabic for Wednesday) or attulata (Moroccan Arabic for Wednesday?). The class responds unanimously "azzulatha'a," in the Standard variety, a response that is accepted and validated as correct by the *fqih*'s repetition of the response in line 3.

In comparison to the other-initiated repair sequences used by the teacher in the Arabic classes in the school, the preemptive strategies used by the *fqih* are less aggravated and do not index such a strong stance of disaffiliation with children's use of the colloquial variety. In addition, the overwhelming number of corrections involving Moroccan Arabic found in the school data, in contrast with the paucity of this type of correction found in the mosque data, speaks of a heightened supervision of children's use of Moroccan Arabic by the school Arabic teacher. This keen monitoring is very much in keeping with this teacher's expressed condescending attitude towards the colloquial variety spoken in the children's homes as "rural" and "backwards." While not surprising, it is still important to ponder the issue of the possible disconnect in educational outcomes engendered in classes which are considered a *first language maintenance program*, but that in effect, promote heavily children's learning of the Standard to the potential detriment of their home language variety. While the Standard/colloquial concern has been raised in relation to many Arabic programs, including language educational programs in Morocco, this disconnect may be even more significant and consequential in migration contexts where children's heritage languages and identities are already at high risk of being lost in the face of strong acculturation into dominant language and practices.

This disconnect is also underscored by an identical feature of error correction practices involving Moroccan Arabic in the two settings. In spite of the differences, the correction strategies illustrated in all of the previous examples, whether from the school or from the mosque, are designed to sensitize children to Moroccan Arabic and Classical/Standard Arabic forms that have the same referential meaning, in that they mean the same thing, but very different indexical meanings in relation to children's cultural and linguistic identity, since Classical/Standard Arabic is indexically associated with Pan-Arabism, education, literacy, cultural authenticity, and with Islam. Through the devaluing of Moroccan Arabic and the privileging of Classical/Standard Arabic, a Pan-Arab identity becomes once again the only sanctioned and legitimate identity available for Moroccan immigrant children in these classes. This is also underscored by the teachers' use of the pronominal form "we" as a membership categorization device in Examples 6 and 7. In both examples, the teacher and the *fqih* initiate the error correction sequences with the questions *what do we say?* (aš kangulu?) and *what do we put?* (mašnū ġadi ndiru?) respectively. Since Moroccan Arabic is both the teachers' and students' mother tongues, the *we* in these questions is not indexical with a cultural and linguistic identity that is linked with Moroccan Arabic, in which case the dialectal forms would not have been treated as problematic. Rather, the *we* categorizes both teachers and students as belonging to the same community of Classical/Standard Arabic speakers, which further legitimizes the value of this linguistic identity for Moroccan immigrant children.

6.2.2. Children's misuse of Classical/Standard Arabic

Another aspect of error correction practices that is analytically interesting is Moroccan immigrant children's misuse of Classical/Standard Arabic linguistic forms, particularly when comparing Arabic language classes at school and in the mosque. If, as discussed above, children's use of Moroccan Arabic in the official space of the classroom was the focus of heightened surveillance and correction in Arabic language classes at the school, children's mistakes in Classical/Standard Arabic constitute the core of error correction practices of Arabic language classes in the mosque. In particular, the *fqih's* construction of the nature and the source of the mistakes involving Classical/Standard Arabic deserves separate attention because he often interpreted these errors as emanating from the interference or negative effect of Moroccan immigrant children's participation in the host society, that is Spain. In the Arabic language classes at the mosque, error correction, thus, becomes a crucial mechanism to mark in-group/out-group boundaries in relation to children's developing processes of identification with their multiple communities.

In Example 8, a student is reading a series of syllables of the Arabic alphabet from the board. This series was designed for children to learn the letter *SāD* (ص). After correctly producing the first three syllables, the child makes a mistake and pronounces the letter *SāD* as a *sīn* (س), which corresponds to a different sound and letter in Arabic equivalent to the phoneme /s/.

Example 8

F= *Fqih*

S= Student

1. S: Sa - Si - So - s - ((Reading from the board))
2. F: "S" maši "s" Kayan sīn (س) u Kayan SāD (ص)
"S" not "s". There is sīn and there is SāD
3. F: bHal albaraH adrarikolhom katboli Mokhammed
Like yesterday all the children wrote Mokhammed
farqu ma bin alHā (ح) u lkhā (خ)
Distinguish between (ح) and (خ)
4. F: hiya hna fasbanya kayaqraūha Mokhammed
Here in Spain they read it Mokhammed
Hna'adna MoHammed.
We have MoHammed.

The *fqih* corrects this mistake in line 2 and uses it as a springboard to address a problem he has encountered when correcting children's homework from the previous class. As part of the homework, children were supposed to practice writing the name of Prophet Mohammed. In the homework, the *fqih* found quite a bit of confusion between the letters *Hā* (ح) and *kha* (خ). The *fqih's* interpretation of the children's error as having its source in the interference of the Spanish phonological system with the Arabic phonological and writing system is interesting on two counts. First, the multiple letter forms and diacritical marks in Arabic have been described as being particularly susceptible to perceptual error by young children and other novices learning to read and to write in Arabic in Morocco and other Arabo-phone countries (e.g. Wagner, Messick, & Spratt, 1986).²⁵ Second, the Moroccan immigrant children in this study live in a rural community in Southern Spain, where the pronunciation of the Spanish phoneme /x/ – to which the letter *kha* corresponds – is greatly aspirated, resulting in an allophonic realization that is closer to the letter *Hā* (ح) – the correct letter in the Arabic spelling of Mohammed – than to the letter *kha*, the mistake that the children had made.

Furthermore, it is important to notice the *fqih's* use of the pronominal forms *we* (**Hna'adna** – We have –) and *they* (as encoded in the 3rd person plural of the verb *qra* – to read – **kayaqraūha**) in the correction of the children's mistake (line 4). Through the use of these pronominal forms, the *fqih* identifies himself and the children solely as members of an Arabic-speaking community and as different from the larger Spanish-speaking community. This identification is underscored by the presence of the pronoun *Hna/we*. In languages like Arabic where pronoun forms are not required (**'adna** by itself would have sufficed, since it also means *we have*), the presence of a subject pronoun is always indicative of special emphasis.

Similarly, in Example 9, also from the classes in the mosque, a student is reading a series of syllables of the Arabic alphabet from the board that involves the letter *Tā*, both in isolation and with all the possible short and long vowel combinations. In Classical Arabic, the suffix –ūn or –wn is usually added to a letter when it is pronounced in isolation.

²⁵ The pervasiveness of this type of error has also been documented in children's acquisition of literacy in other languages that also use diacritical marks or dots to distinguish between certain letters, such as Hebrew (Feitelson, 1980).

In this example, however the child encounters the letter Tā with a fatha (‘), the diacritic symbol for the short vowel /a/, in which case the letter Tā is supposed to be read *Ta* and not *Tawn* (or *Taūn*). The *fqih* corrects the student and addresses this differentiation in lines 3 and 4.

Example 9

F= Fqih	Ss= All Students	S=Individual student
1.	S:	Taūn T
2.	F:	ah maši ngul <i>taūn</i> , Eh we can’t say T
3.		mali nalqaūlfatha ngolu Ta when we find a fatha (‘)we say Ta
4.		mali nalqaūhadi wašta ngraūha? ((pointing at the letter on the board)) When we find this one how do we read it?
5.	Ss:	Ta T
6.	F:	Ta mazian (.) Ta good
7.		ġadi nšufu had lablad fin rakum wakha we’ll see with this country your in, ok.

Although there is no linguistic feature of Spanish that could potentially be the source of the children’s error, the *fqih* in line 4 makes a connection between the child’s mistake with *this country you’re in*, meaning Spain. Apart from the disaffiliation stance indexed by the demonstrative *this* (**had** lablad-this country), we also have to consider the future tense of the sentence (ġadi nšufu -we’ll see), that projects a negative future orientation for the children’s development as potentially linked to Spanish cultural values, norms, and preferences, and to children’s increasing participation as members of the host society. These error-correction examples illustrate a potentially divisive stance that may have important consequences for Moroccan immigrant children’s socialization into processes of identification that consistently positions Spanish language, which symbolically embodies Western values, and Spanish society as different from the children’s primary sources of identification. Moreover, since Moroccan immigrant children’s difficulties in the acquisition of Classical/Standard Arabic are often interpreted as originating from these children’s contact with Spanish language, children’s involvement in the host society may be further constructed as a threat to the children’s Arab-Islamic identities in that it might have negative effects not only on children’s linguistic development, but also on children’s moral values and behaviors as good Muslims. This is reinforced by the *fqih*’s and other adults’ admonitions to stay “*off the wrong path*,” and how these admonitions often translated into surveillance of children’s behavior regarding their choice of clothing, the type of music they would listen to and the type of reading they would do for leisure.

These error correction practices in the mosque, in combination with the preeminence given to linguistic forms that are imbued with cultural meanings associated with Islam, such as the Hijri calendar example above, echo religious discourses within some Moroccan communities that advocate for total Arabization and for the complete banning of Western languages, which are seen as a threat not only to the purity of the Arabic language, but also as a source of corruption and moral decadence for Moroccan youth through a double indexical link that associates Western languages with Western culture and the latter with social and moral decadence (Ennaji, 2005; Holt, 1994; Mouhssine, 1995; Suleiman, 1994, 2003).

6.3. Categorization of students in classroom discourse

In relation to the error-correction practices that have just been described, this section is concerned with another pervasive discursive feature found in the mosque data, namely forms of categorization used to identify students as belonging to an Arab/Islamic community, while treating children’s lives in Spain as separate from their primary identities as Moroccans, Arabs, and Muslims. The following example is extracted from an extended piece of discourse that the *fqih* delivered one of the first days of instruction at the mosque. After an opening statement about the importance of learning the Arabic language well and laying out expectations for children’s behavior in the classroom, the *fqih* proceeded to explain what they were going to learn in this class:

Example 10**F: Fqih**

1. F: ġadi ndīru'amaliya lhisab,
We are going to do arithmetic operations
2. ='adna'ibadat,'adna tarbayya,'adna attaqafa alwaTaniyya
we have religious practices, we have education, we have the national culture
3. n'arfu bladna almaġreb, bašnHabbūh o kif dayer had almaġreb
we (will) know our country Morocco, to love him and how is Morocco
4. Hasab alwaqt alli'adna n'arfu ala'yad alwaTaniya wa ala'yad aDDiiniya.
Depending on the time we have, we will know the national holidays and the religious holidays
5. n'arfu škun had annabīadyalna MoHAMmed
We (will) know who is our Prophet Mohammed
6. n'arfu škun howa Allah
We (will) know who is God
7. n'arfu kifašn'išum'a had lespane
we (will) know how to live with these Spaniards

An essential feature of the discursive style that the *fqih* adopts throughout this segment is the *we-voicing* (Friedman, 2006), which serves two important functions. First, it allows the *fqih* to identify the students and himself as belonging to the same group membership; second, it is integral for the *fqih*'s own authoritative presentation as an animator of the normative view, cultural practices, and bodies of knowledge, beliefs that are valued in Moroccan immigrant children's communities of origin. These include first and foremost the national culture of Morocco "attaqafa alwaTaniyya" and Islamic religious practices "' ibadat" (line 2). These cultural practices and bodies of knowledge are fleshed out in subsequent turns of the *fqih*'s speech (lines 4–6) as encompassing religious and Moroccan national holidays, as well as knowledge of God and of the Prophet Mohammed. It is important to remember that, in this context, the national culture and Islamic religious practices become associated with Classical/Standard Arabic, which is the primary target of instruction in Arabic language classes.

There are other linguistic features in the *we-voicing* style of the *fqih* that circumscribe Moroccan immigrant children's processes of identification exclusively in terms of their heritage communities, specifically the use of verbal forms in the third person plural (*we*) and the use of third person plural possessive pronouns (*our*).

Furthermore, the linguistic features of the *we-voicing* stand in stark contrast with line 7, in which the *fqih* states that a final thing the children need to learn is *how to live with these Spaniards* (kifašn'išum'a had lespane). The distancing effect and the disaffiliation stance indexed by the demonstrative adjective *had/this*, especially in comparison with the profuse use of first person plural forms that permeates the rest of the discourse, functions as a boundary marker in that it casts Spanish people as discrete entities that Moroccan children have to learn to live *with* and the larger Spanish society as a place that Moroccan immigrant children have to learn how to live *in*, but not as a space that the children are necessarily a part of.

7. Conclusion

This paper has explored the complex interactions between language use, literacy practices, and processes of ethnic identification in the context of Arabic language education in a Moroccan immigrant community in Spain. Through an integrated analysis of teachers' expressed beliefs in interviews and teachers' stances as enacted in literacy practices, classroom interactions, and error-correction routines, the paper provides an ethno-methodologically informed account of how teachers in this community attempt to socialize Moroccan immigrant children into a sense of belonging to a larger Arabic-speaking linguistic and, specifically, Islamic religious community. The previous analyses have shown how the instructional and interactional practices of Arabic language classes in the school seem to be more aligned with secular and progressive discourses in the children's communities of origin that see Classical/Standard Arabic as a language that can provide Moroccans access to literacy, education, and modernity, while safeguarding their cultural authenticity and cultural identity. The instructional and interactional practices of Arabic language classes at the mosque, however, seem to be more in keeping with more religious discourses among Moroccan transnational networks that promote children's identification processes solely in terms of an Arabic ethnic identification as conflated with Islamic practices

and beliefs. At the same time, these practice have the effect of delineating distinct in-group/out-group boundaries between the children and the larger Spanish society and positioning Moroccan children's involvement in the host society as a threat to the children's primary identification as Arabic-speaking Muslims. Investigating the complex language ideologies that play out in the language classes that this group of Moroccan immigrant children attend is crucial to understanding the contested debates over modernity and tradition in the children's own communities of origin. In other words, many current debates about the politics of Arabic language education in Moroccan communities (both in Morocco and in the diaspora) are in reality debates between the preservation and influence of Islamic, and other traditional, values vs. the adoption and influence of languages, values, and ways of being in the world associated with economically and culturally dominant polities. These debates not only carry over to Moroccan diasporic communities in Europe, but are often magnified in an immigration context where the Moroccan immigrant community may feel more scrutinized by the larger community, and the transmission of their religious and cultural traditions to the younger generations may be, therefore, perceived to be more under threat.

Given the current geo-political climate surrounding Muslim immigrants from North Africa and the Middle East in Europe, much recent scholarship has been devoted to how global ideoscapes (Appadurai, 2002) and transnational influences are reconfiguring migrant diasporas into transnational and hybrid diasporas who find themselves at the crux of the negotiation between *tradition* and *modernity* in a globalized world (e.g. Samad & Kasturi, 2007). However, much less attention has been devoted to the most immediate, everyday local contexts in which many of these processes are negotiated; and even less to the countervailing influences that Muslim immigrant children, who are at the forefront of this negotiating process, face as they strive to (re)construct their identities in their daily interactions with members of their heritage communities, as well as with members of the host society. Since, in hybrid immigrant communities, the complex relationship between individuals and their multiple languages and cultures is deeply intertwined with the multifaceted identities they have to negotiate in different arenas of social interaction, investigating language socialization practices in Arabic language classes is crucial in understanding immigrant children's affordances, and constraints in developing a hybrid, yet coherent, sense of identity across the sometimes similar, but often incongruous, communities and settings that they have to navigate on a daily basis.

Research on heritage language education has underscored the fact that these educational practices have the potential to be an important resource for immigrant children's development of a healthy sense of social and personal identity in that it can promote feelings of ethnic, cultural, and linguistic pride. Positive connections with the practices and values of their communities of origin are, therefore, particularly important for Moroccan immigrant children to develop, particularly in the face of practices of social exclusion and other racist attitudes that these children may encounter in their dealings with the wider Spanish society, and that I have described elsewhere (García-Sánchez, 2009). However, as it has also been discussed in this paper, language socialization efforts in Arabic language classes may engender possible disconnects when children's home language variety is treated condescendingly and not incorporated into classroom practice in a positive way. Future research should investigate if/how children themselves perceive these contradictions, as well as the long term educational and developmental outcomes in relation to children's processes of identification and of first language maintenance. Another important and productive line for future investigations would be action research devoted to developing programs that build more positively on children's home language variety, while at the same time taking into account adults' (parents and educators) concerns and desires that their children learn Classical/Standard Arabic.

A second aspect discussed in this paper is how language education classes in religious contexts becomes a means to firmly patrol communal borders and processes of identification deeply rooted in tradition. This type of socialization into strong in-group identity boundaries is not specific to Islamic communities and has indeed been documented as a primary means of identification in many other religious communities (e.g. Fader, 2001). In fact, the older generations of many immigrant communities around the world have been described to strengthen socialization practices of essentialized and traditional identifications for the younger generations in response to intense scrutiny and surveillance by the mainstream society and in response to forces of assimilation that they consider a threat to the well-being of their children and their families (Alexander, 2007; Engbersen, 2007; Lee, 2005; Mohammad-Arif, 2007; Samad, 2007).

While this may be a widespread phenomenon across immigrant communities, it is still important to consider how elder generations' attempts to re-enculturate and re-assimilate children may impact youth's spaces and opportunities to redefine their identifications. This is significant particularly given the marginalization and exclusion these youth often experience in their dealings with the host society. To this respect, it is also important to note that Muslim immigrant children and youth in Spain, as well as in the rest of Europe, are often caught in the middle of a heritage community

who fears that they are becoming too ‘Westernized’ and a host society who attempts to assimilate them in the midst of fears that they are becoming too ‘Islamic.’ Although this falls outside the boundaries of this paper, it would be important in future studies to consider to what extent and how Moroccan immigrant children are able to manage these countervailing influences and create spaces to generate new and hybrid processes of identification.

Appendix A. Arabic-roman characters transliteration symbols

ا = ā	ظ = ṭ
ب = b	ع = ʿ
ت = t	غ = ġ
ث = z	ف = f
ج = ġ	ق = g/q
ح = h	ك = k
خ = kh	ل = l
د = d	م = m
ذ = D	ن = n
ر/rr = r	ه = h
ز = z	ي = ī/y
س = s	و = ū/w
ش = š	ء = ʾ
ص = S	َ = a/e
ض = d	ُ = u/o
ط = T	ِ = i

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